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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger co-operative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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[62] [592] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in [156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By [584] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of [595] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. [586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young [564] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the [191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin [595] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year [31] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who [564] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has [727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one [595] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[56] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household [756] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and [736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his [584] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

[65] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who [564] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him. 882 837 561

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits. 882 554 836

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried. 582 584

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since 582 842 [826]

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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796 794 533 posing rhythms become the orchestra leaders and may hum out a new arrangement to be interpreted under their directions by the gong-players. "Let's try this one—'gading gadong, gading gadong, kura kura, kura kura'," [28] he will say, and each player must know which part his gong should take and should be able to translate the words of the leader into the proper blows on the lips of the gong at the proper moment. Usually the leader merely suggests that a named rhythm be played, if the ritual permits such a choice, or, if not, simply directs the players. Good players are permitted to play only when the gong rhythms are the central part of the ritual, and the dubs and novices take their turn when the gongs are being used primarily to accompany the dancers, so that every member of the cult has an opportunity to perform on the gongs at some time during the ceremony. While those who play well are praised, those who are clumsy and inept are teased, criticized, and ridiculed.

[554]

796 794 535 554 Dancing during the cult ceremonies also provides an opportunity for a man to gain status. He may be applauded either for being a tireless, or for being a spectacular, performer. The man who can dance an entire night without ever sitting down to rest and smoke is spoken of as having "dry bones" and being "hard too much." Similarly, anyone who can join the dance with fervor when it is lagging and put new spirit into the performance is highly regarded. Once at a *Nokwi* ceremony, when a dance which had been going on for several hours had begun to lag, a man who had just arrived, adorned with particularly striking face paint and decorations, rushed into the circle balancing a spear over his head, stamping his feet on the ground, and shouting. The other dancers quickly caught his enthusiasm, the tempo increased, and loiterers joined in. Spectators shook their heads, smacked their lips, and allowed that he was indeed a man of parts.

794 796 533 Singing provides another means of self-expression during the ceremonies of the yam cult. The men blend their voices

[28] This is actually a formalized gong rhythm known as "the cassowary" and supposed to represent a hen cassowary and her chicks.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[49] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwei*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwei* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwei* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[49] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, *handombas* becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *karaganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can [562] become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings [786] toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the alter. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Hongwam sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Haub and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be